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LETTER V.

TO THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL,

ON THE AMERICAN WAR.

MY LORD,—The nation begin to suspect, at least, that this American War may prove an unfortunate thing. If your Lordship recollects, I taunted Johnny Bull, flouted him and gibed, when, at the out-set of this war, he crowed and cock-cock-caw'd, at the idea of giving the Yankees a good drubbing. If your Lordship recollects that I flouted wise John, and told him, that, at any rate, I hoped, if he was resolved to enjoy this sport, he would never let me hear him say a word about the *Property Tax*, or, what he vulgarly calls the *Income Tax*. I knew, from the beginning, that I should see him galled here. I knew that I should have him upon this hip; and here I have him; for he is now crying out against the *Tax*, as loud as a pig under the knife of a butcher, though he, at the same time, seems to have no objection to the work of slaughtering going on. In short, so that he is safe himself, and pays nothing, his delight is in seeing war desolate the rest of the world. But he does not like to *pay*. Rather than pay, he would give the world a chance of being at peace, and of ceasing to bleed.

That so amiable a personage should meet with any rubs or crosses in life must, of course, be matter of regret with his friends, and must remind them of the maxim, that, as virtue alone is not, in all cases, sufficient to insure happiness in this world, the virtuous afflicted ought chiefly to rely on the world to come. This sort of reliance is very suitable to Johnny, at this time; for he has not given the Yankees a drubbing; and yet the Income Tax sticks to him like bird-lime. The *Times* newspapers cheer him, indeed, by telling him, that he is *causing the Yankees to pay taxes*; that, though he so sorely feels himself, he does not suffer *in vain*; for that he is *making others suffer too*. To be sure, this is a consoling reflection; but still it is not quite sufficient to reconcile him to the continuation of the Income Tax, seeing that, when called on for the money, he sometimes forgets the delight of seeing others suffer, which he has enjoyed for his money.

But now, my Lord, leaving wise Johnny, amiable and honest Johnny, to his taxes and his hopes of giving the Yankees a drubbing, permit me to remind your Lordship, briefly, of the *origin of this war*; for, if I have life to the end of it, this origin shall not be forgotten. It is necessary, at every stage, to keep it steadily in view; for, unless we do this, we shall be wholly "*bothered*" out of it at last, as we were in the case of the French war.

The war against France was a war against *principles* at first; it then became a war of *conquest*; and it ended in being a war for *deliverance*. We set out with accusing our enemy with being dangerous, as *disorganizers of ancient Governments*; and we ended with accusing them of being dangerous, as *despots*. The French were *too free* for us at the beginning, and *too much enslaved* for us at the end; and it was so contrived as to make more than half the world believe, that the Cossacks were the great champions of *civil and political liberty*. So, that, when we came to the close, leaving the French nearly as we found them, not seeing tythes, monks, game-laws, gabelles, corvées, bastiles, or seigneurial courts re-established, we had spent more than *a thousand millions of pounds* in a war, of the first object of which we had wholly lost sight. We will not have it thus, my Lord, with regard to the American war. We will not suffer its first object to be lost sight of. Nobody, as to this point, shall be able to "*bother*" any historian, who is disposed to speak the truth.

The war with America arose thus—We were at war with France, America was neutral. We not only exercised our known right of stopping American merchant ships at sea, to search them for *enemy's goods*, for *troops in the enemy's service*, and for goods *contraband of war*

which species of search, and of seizure, in case of detection, Mr. Madison did not oppose either by word or deed. This was a *maritime right*, sometimes disputed by Russia, Holland, Denmark, and Sweden; but never given up by us, except for awhile, at a time of great danger. This right was never disputed by Mr. Madison during the French war. The exercise of it he submitted to without complaint. This was our "*right of search*;" and this right was enjoyed by us, without any complaint on his part; and this is the right which many people think he opposed, and upon *that* ground they have approved of the war.

But the war had nothing to do with this right, any more than it had to do with our right of bringing coals from Newcastle to London. The war was declared by Mr. Madison against us, because we stopped American merchant ships upon the high seas, and *impressed people* out of them. We said, that we did this in order to recover *our own seamen*, who were frequently found serving in these American ships; but it was notorious, the fact was never denied, and never can be denied, that we *impressed* thus great numbers of *native Americans*, forced them on board of our ships of war, and *compelled* them to submit to our *discipline*, and to risk their lives in fighting for us. These are facts which can never be denied. Mr. Madison, for years, called upon us to cease this practice. We did not cease. He repeatedly threatened war, if we persevered. We did persevere; and, after years of remonstrance, he, or rather the two Houses of Congress, the real Representatives of the people of America, declared war against us.

Here, then, is the cause of the war; the sole cause of the war; war, long threatened, and, at last, frankly declared, previous to any hostile act or movement on the part of Mr. Madison, or rather the Congress. For, my Lord, though Johnny Bull, wise Johnny, whose generosity would put all other nations into his own happy state; though wise and generous John talks about Mr. Madison's hostility, it is, in fact, the hostility of the *Congress*; that is to say, the hostility of the *people*; because the Congress are the *real*, and not the *sham*, representatives of the people; and, because, the Congress, who declared, and who now support the war, have been chosen *during* the war, and *just before it*. The Members of the Congress do not purchase their seats; no seats can be bought or sold; none of the Members can get any thing for themselves, or families, by their votes. So that, when they decide, it is, in reality, a majority of the people who decide; and, the people did decide, that they would *resist, by force of arms, the impressment of their seamen.*

The people here generally believe what that infamous print, the *Times* newspaper, tell them, that the *people* of America never *complained* of such impressments; but the truth is, that, long before, *years* before, the war was declared, complaints, and most bitter complaints, had rung through the country, against these impressments. Letters from the impressed persons were published without end. Affidavits proving the facts. Representations enough to make a nation mad with resentment; enough to drive even Quakers to arms. None of these have our newspapers ever copied. None of these have they ever made known to their readers. They have published the harangues of Goodloe Harper, H. G. Otis, poor Timothy Pickering, and other would-be Noblesse. They have given us every thing from the free press of America, at all calculated to cause it to be believed, that the war is unpopular there; but not a word on the other side; not a word to let us see what were the real sentiments of the majority of the Republic. I will now lay before your Lordship some of the complaints of the impressed Americans, as published in the American newspapers; for, I am convinced, that even *you* are not acquainted fully of the nature and tone of those complaints; and, at any rate, the publications should, if possible, be rebutted on our part, seeing, that they must produce such a hatred of us in the minds of the people of America, as will, if not, by some means, mollified, lead to a never-ceasing hostility. Your Lordship will perceive, that these statements are sent forth with all the forms of judicial acts; that they consist of statements made on oath; that these statements are certified by legal magistrates, whose names are affixed to them; and that, of course, they are calculated to have great weight with the public. It is not a bad way to make the case our own; to suppose such complaints to be made in our papers against America, or any other nation; and, then, to judge of the effect that those complaints would make on the

people of England, recollecting that the Americans are not base and cowardly more than we are.

From the Salem Register of Jan. 9, 1813.

IMPRESSMENT.

"The following deposition of Mr. *Isaac* "*Clark*, of this town, who has been torn "from his family and country, and for "three years compelled to serve on board "his Britannic Majesty's ships of war, is "entitled to an attentive perusal. Those "Americans, who can read this narrative "without the strongest emotions of indigna- "tion and wrath towards the insolent and "haughty oppressors of our brave and ho- "nest mariners, and commisseration for "their sufferings, or who can attempt to "justify and palliate the atrocious conduct "of our man-stealing enemies, can be fit "only for slaves to the * * * Court of St. "James's, and had better take refuge with "their favourite "*Bulwark*;" they are "unworthy to breathe the pure air of Li- "berty.——This narrative affords a most "striking and affecting view of the suffer- "ings which not only our townsman Mr. "Clark, but *thousands* of American sea- "men *have* endured, and which all have "been *liable* to endure, by this infernal "practice of impressment on the high seas "from our vessels. But the day of retri- "bution will come, and it ought to be the "determination of every patriotic Ameri- "can to compel the enemy to abandon this "most insufferable and degrading prac- "tice, or, in the language of the Hon. "Mr. Mason, 'to nail our colours to the "'mast, and sink in the effort.'

"I, *Isaac Clark*, of Salem, in the coun- "ty of Essex, and commonwealth of Mas- "sachusetts, on solemn oath declare, that "I was born in the town of Randolph, in "the county of Norfolk; have sailed out "of Salem aforesaid about seven years; "that, on the 14th day of June, 1809, I "was impressed and forcibly taken from "the ship Jane, of Norfolk, by the sailing- "master (his name was Carr) of his Ma- "jesty's ship Porcupine, Robert Elliot, "commander. I had a protection from "the custom-house in Salem, which I "shewed to Captain Elliot; he swore I "was an Englishman, tore my protection "to pieces before my eyes, and threw it "overboard, and ordered me to go to work. "—I told him I did not belong to his flag, "and I would do no work under it.—— "He then ordered my legs to be put in "irons, and the next morning ordered the "master-at-arms to take me on deck and "give me two dozen lashes; after receiving "them, he ordered him to keep me in irons, "and give me one biscuit and a pint of "water for 24 hours. After keeping me "in this situation one week, I was brought "on deck, and asked by Captain Elliot if "I would go to my duty—on my refusing, "he ordered me to strip, tied me up a se- "cond time and gave me two dozen more, "and kept me on the same allowance ano- "ther week—then ordered me on deck "again, and asked if I would go to work; "I still persisted that I was an American, "and that he had no right to demand my "services, and I would do no work on "board his ship. He told me he would "punish me until I was willing to work; "and then gave me the third two dozen of "lashes, ordered a very heavy chain to be "put round my neck, (such as they had used "to sling the lower yard) fastened to a "ringbolt in the deck, and that no person "except the master-at-arms should speak "to me, or give me any thing to eat or "drink, but my one biscuit and a pint of "water for twenty-four hours, until I "would go to work. I was kept in this "situation nine weeks, when, being ex- "hausted by hunger and thirst, I was "obliged to yield. After being on board "the ship more than two years and a half, "and being *wounded in an action with a* "*French frigate*, I was sent to the hospi- "tal. When partially recovered, I was "sent on board the Impregnable, a 98 gun "ship. My wound growing worse, I was "returned to the hospital, when the Ame- "rican Consul received a copy of my pro- "tection from Salem, and procured my dis- "charge on the 29th day of April last. "There were *seven* impressed Americans "on board the Porcupine, three of whom "had entered. "ISAAC CLARK."

IMPRESSMENT.

From the National Advocate, May 4th, 1813.

"The following documents are worthy "of attention, as illustrating practically "the subject of impressment:—

"I, *Beekman Ver Plank Hoffman*, of "the town of Poughkeepsie, do certify "that I am a lieutenant in the United "States navy; that I was a lieutenant on "board the Constitution frigate in the "action and capture of the Guerriere; "that, after her surrender, I was sent on "board, and after taking out the crew, "fired and blew up the ship. The eight

" impressed American seamen were among " the crew of the Guerriere, who were " liberated at Boston. I was also on " board the Constitution in the action and " capture of the Java, and was sent on " board that vessel, and after the crew " were removed, set her on fire and blew " her up. Amongst the crew of the Java, " thirteen impressed American seamen " were found, three of whom had entered " the British service and were left, the " other ten were liberated as Americans.

" *Dated Poughkeepsie, April* 16, 1813.

" B. V. HOFFMAN."

Dutchess County, ss.

" *Richard Tompkins*, being sworn, " saith, that he is a native of New Paltz, " opposite Poughkeepsie; that he sailed " from Winnington about the 28th of " April 1810, on board the brig Warren, W. " Kelly, captain, for Cork. On the home- " ward passage, in September following, he " was impressed and taken on board the " Peacock, a British sloop of war, and " compelled to do duty. That while on board " that vessel he made many unsuccessful " attempts to write to his friends, inform- " ing them of his situation. He further " saith, that after he had heard of the war, " himself and two other impressed Ameri- " can seamen, who were on board the Pea- " cock, went aft to the captain, claimed " to be considered as American prisoners " of war, and refused to do duty any longer. " They were ordered off the quarter-deck, " and the captain called for the master- " at-arms, and ordered us to be put in " irons; we were then kept in irons about " twenty-four hours, when we were taken " out, brought to the gangway, stripped of " our clothes, tied and whipped, each one " dozen and a half lashes, and put to duty. " He further saith, that he was kept on " board the Peacock, and did duty, till the " action with the Hornet—after the Hor- " net hoisted American colours, he and the " other impressed Americans again went " to the captain of the Peacock, asked to " be sent below, said it was an American " ship, and that they did not wish to fight " against their country. The captain or- " dered us to our quarters; called midship- " man Stone to do his duty; and if we did " not do our duty, to blow our brains out— " ave!" was answered by Stone, who " a pistol at my head, and order- " to our places. We then continued " es, and were compelled to fight " eacock struck: and we were " liberated after an impressment of about " two years and eight months."

his

" RICHARD ✕ TOMPKINS."

mark

" *Poughkeepsie, April* 17, 1813.

" Read over and signed in the presence of

" *Joseph Harris,*

" *John S. Frear.*"

Dutchess County, ss.

" *James Tompkins*, being sworn, saith, " that he is a native of Ulster county, op- " posite Poughkeepsie; that he sailed out " of New York in the month of April, " 1812, in the ship Minerva, bound to " Ireland; that on the homeward-bound " passage, in July after, this deponent, " with three other American seamen, " *Samuel Davis, Wm. Young, and John* " *Brown*, were impressed and taken on " board of the British ship Acteon, David " Smith, captain. We were taken on Satur- " day evening; on Monday morning we " were brought to the gangway, and in- " formed we must enter on board ship, and " live as other seamen, or we should live " on oatmeal and water, and receive five " dozen lashes. This deponent says, him- " self, and the other three impressed with " him, did refuse to enter, and each of " them were then whipped five dozen lashes. " On Wednesday following we were again " all brought up and had the same offer " made to us to enter, which we refused, " and we were again whipped four dozen " lashes each. On Saturday after the like " offer was made to us, and on our refusal " we were again whipped three dozen " lashes each. On Monday following, still " refusing to enter, we were again whipped " two dozen each. On Wednesday follow- " ing we were again whipped one dozen " each, and ordered to be taken below and " put in irons till we did enter: and the " captain said he would *punish the damn'd* " *Yankee rascals till they did enter.* We " were then put in irons, and laid in irons " three months. During the time of our " impressment the ship had an action, and " captured a French ship. Before this " action we were taken out of irons, and " asked to fight, but we refused; and after " the action we were again ironed, where " we remained till the ship arrived at " London. After arriving there we first " heard of the war with America, and " that the Guerriere was taken. This " deponent took his shirt, Samuel Davis " and Wm. Young took their handker-

"chiefs, made stripes and stars for the "American colours, and hung it over a "gun, and gave three cheers for the vic- "tory. The next morning, at six o'clock, "we were brought up and *whipped two* "*dozen lashes each for huzzaing for the* "*Yankee flag*. Shortly after this we "were all released by the assistance of "the American Consul, and Captain Hall, "who knew us.—This deponent further "saith that they all had protections, and "shewed them, and claimed to be Ameri- "cans, at the time they were impressed.

"JAMES TOMPKINS."

"Sworn before me this 17th day of "April, 1813, at which time the said "James Tompkins shewed me his wrists, "which at his request I examined, and "there appeared to be marks and scars on "both of them, occasioned, as I suppose, "from his having been in irons.

"WM. W. BOGARDUS,

"*Justice of the Peace.*"

Now, my Lord, I do not say that these statements are *true*. In spite of all the particular detail of names, dates, and places. In spite of oaths and certificates, they *may be* false; but as it is to such statements that we owe this unfortunate war, we surely ought to endeavour to *prove*, that some, at least, of these statements are false. The Republican newspapers teem, and teemed long before the war, with publications of this sort. The blood of Americæ was set boiling by such publications. The vote of Congress for the war was the most popular vote ever given by that body. It is, therefore, of vast importance that these publications should be counteracted if possible. They are either true, or false; if the latter, as I would fein hope, they can be easily refuted; if true, which it would be shocking to believe, certainly we ought to be very ready and forward to make atonement to the Americans for what they have suffered.

These statements have, too, produced another most serious effect. They have filled the crews of the American ships with implacable revenge. To the usual motives of patriotism and glory, they have added the still more powerful motive of vengeance. Against crews, thus animated, men under the influence of the mere ordinary motives to bravery, really cannot be expected to succeed, without a great superiority of force. I leave your Lordship to suppose what would be the effect of statements like these, if the case were OURS. If we were at peace with all the world, and were carrying on our commerce agreeably to the laws of *neutrality*, while the Americans were at war with some other power; and if the Americans were to impress *Englishmen* from on board English ships, bringing up coals from Newcastle to London, were to force them into their ships of war, compel them to fight for America, and, in short, to occasion, in the English papers, statements such as I have above quoted. If this were the case, does your Lordship think, that *we* should be very quiet? And if such statements would be likely to set us in a flame, are we to suppose, that they have had no effect on the Americans?

Here, my Lord, as you well know, we have the real cause of that war, which, it is said, is now to engage *a hundred thousand men, two hundred ships of war*, and which cannot cost less than twenty millions a year. It has been asserted, that the Congress declared war against us to assist Napoleon on the Continent. This is so foolish, that the writers must think that they are addressing it to men little superior to brutes. It was impossible that the Americans could know where Napoleon was, when they declared war. It was impossible that their war should really aid him in his designs against Russia. It was against their interest that Russia should be crushed by any power, and especially by France. The other charge, that America, "like an assassin, attacked us *in the* "*dark*," is equally false and foolish. How could an open declaration of war by a Legislative Assembly, after *repeated discussion*, be an act deserving such a description? How could that be called an attack in the *dark*, especially when it had been threatened for years, and when it was followed immediately by an offer for *a truce*, in order again to negociate for peace?

Here we have the real origin of the war. Terminate as it will, this was its origin. This origin must not be forgotten, whatever efforts are made to put it out of our heads. When the war shall have ended, and we shall sit down to count the cost, this origin must be kept steadily before us.

The *Times* and *Courier* are still labouring to persuade us, that there will be a *separation* of the American States; that the four New England States will declare themselves *independent of the General Government*, and will *form an alliance*

with Old England. Now, my Lord, mind, I pledge myself, that, if any such proposition be seriously made by the friends of the famous Captain HENRY, by the would-be Noblesse of Massachusetts, they will very quickly be decorated, not with coats of arms, but with coats of *tar and feathers.* The people of New England are "*essentially* Republicans." They have been, or, at least, a part of them, stimulated by very cunning men, to a violent opposition against Mr. MADISON and the WAR. But only let them see the *real* objects of the Pickerings, the Otises, the Quinceys, &c. and the fall of these men is as certain as the return of Spring after Winter. It is not by a *large* majority that even the New England States oppose the war. It is barely "*touch-and-go*" with the Opposition, *even there.* What man in his senses, then, can place a moment's reliance on it? And, indeed, the only purpose that it is likely to answer, is, that of *deceiving us*, and inducing us to leave the New England sea-ports *safe places for the building of ships of war and the fitting out of privateers.* The leaving of that part of the Union unmolested, while we attack the Southern States, is just what suits America. She has, in New England, unmolested ports and harbours, out of which to send forth ships of war to annoy our trade and engage our navy, and into which to carry her rich prizes. The Pickerings, the Otises, &c. I really believe to be traitors to their country; or, at least, that they would sell themselves, if you and your master were not too honest to buy them. But, hang them! my Lord, they are not worth your notice. They talk big, and hold themselves out as of great consequence; but they are poor things. Indeed, my Lord, they are.—Timothy Pickering used to be thought a very honest man; but, after he was put out of office, he seems to have abandoned himself to the revenge, which his disappointment created. He had not the virtue to follow the example of his venerable employer, Mr. Adams, who, upon being outvoted as President, by Mr. Jefferson, said, "I only wished to obtain a majority of "voices, that I might serve my country, "and now I shall endeavour to serve it by "supporting him, who has that majority." Timothy Pickering, who had been, to the astonishment of all the world, his *Secretary of State*, who was no more fit for the office than your coachman would be fit for yours, and who, of course, was inordinately proud of his sudden and unexpected elevation, became furious at the election of Mr. Jefferson, and has, ever since, been in a sort of mad fit, doing a hundred things, for either of which, in England, he would be sent to jail for a year or two at least. The truth is, that Mr. Adams had the *public good* solely in view, and that Timothy had an eye solely to his *private interest.* Hence the exactly opposite conduct of the two men, when the voice of the country put them both out of power. I am sure that your Lordship and your colleagues, especially your distinguished colleague now at Vienna, would scorn to purchase traitors in any country; but, if you were so disposed; if such men as the famous Captain HENRY could possibly prevail on you to lay out any of our money, in this way, on the other side of the Atlantic, Timothy, though so much applauded in the *Times* newspaper, would not be worth your purchasing.

This is the sort of stuff; this is the rubbish, which the *Times* would have us *rely upon* for success against the Republic! I beseech your Lordship to consider it, as it is the grossest deception that ever was attempted to be palmed upon mankind. Mr. Madison cannot *silence* these men. *He* has no sops. *He* has none of that potent drug, of the possession of which Smollett tells us Sir Robert Walpole used to boast. They will, therefore, keep on barking; but, my Lord, be assured, that they are wholly unable to bite. I am, &c. &c.

WM. COBBETT.

LETTER II.

TO THE
COSSACK PRIESTHOOD
OF THE STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS.

Botley, England, Dec. 22, 1814.

GENTLEMEN,—Without any ceremony, and without giving myself the trouble of an introduction, I insert, for your perusal, the following two articles from a London paper, called the *Courier*, of the 21st instant.

First Extract.

"*Lynn, Dec.* 18.

"SIR,—In the *Courier* of last Thursday "I noticed a paragraph containing a de- "scription of the late riot in this town, and "as it is very incorrect, I wish you, for "the sake of undeceiving the minds of "those readers who are at a distance from

"the scene, to contradict it.—The facts of "the case are these: The merchants had "resolved to lower the seamen's wages, "and on Thursday se'nnight, a ship being "ready for sea, manned with apprentices, "the mate had agreed to go at the reduced "wages, which so irritated those who had "refused, that they went on board and li-"terally dragged him ashore. The Cap-"tain sent for the Mayor, and requested "him to exert his authority, which he did, "and succeeded in releasing the poor fel-"low, but not till he (the Mayor) had been "greatly insulted, and one of them even "threatened to knock him down; they "next went and took the men from all the "ships, and swore they should not go till "the wages were again advanced. The "next morning a warrant was issued, and "five of them conveyed to gaol, when a "great number immediately assembled op-"posite the gaol door, and swore they "would not only have their wages ad-"vanced, but also the prisoners set at li-"berty. The Mayor and other Aldermen "were immediately sent for; but when "they came the sailors began to be most "tumultuous, and even struck some of "the Aldermen.——Finding no argument "would avail, the Mayor read the Riot "Act; but so far from appeasing them, "a party went to the Boal Quay, and "having obtained a pole with which "the lightermen steer their gangs, they "battered the gaol outer door, broke "open some of the inner ones, broke the "windows, tore out the frames, and libe-"rated those five who had just before been "confined.—The Magistrates then called "to their assistance the inhabitants, and "swore in a great number as special con-"stables. The town cavalry were assem-"bled, and an express sent to Norwich for "further military aid: the next morning "a troop of *German Hussars* arrived, "when two of the ring-leaders surrendered "themselves, and since then several others "have been taken. On Monday two "troops of the 5th Dragoon Guards ar-"rived from Ipswich, and a part of the "Bedford Militia from Colchester, by or-"der of the Secretary of State, but I hope "their assistance will not be required, as "the poor deluded fellows appear now to "be quiet; three have been committed "and conveyed to Norwich Castle, under "an escort of dragoons, to take their "trial for the capital part of the offence "at the next Norfolk assizes. No dwell-"ing-house was destroyed, nor even at-"tempted; and I am happy to say no per-"son received any material injury.—It "may not be improper here to observe that "the Mayor and other Magistrates de-"serve, from every peaceable and *well-dis-"posed inhabitant*, the most *sincere thanks*, "as their conduct was greatly to be ad-"mired."

Second Extract.

"The *Morning Chronicle*, of yesterday, "says that it will become *a subject of Par-"liamentary inquiry*, why the *foreign* "troops (*Brunswick Hussars*) were called "in *to quell a riot at Lynn*. The facts "are these, viz.:—When the riot took "place, *the Mayor of* HIMSELF sent an "express to Norwich, the nearest place "for cavalry, and the *Brunswick Hus-"sars* were the only cavalry there, conse-"quently they marched on the Mayor's "requisition. When the Mayor's requi-"sition was received at the Horse Guards, "an order was sent by express for a squa-"dron of the 5th Dragoon Guards to "march from Ipswich, and on their arrival "at Lynn to send back the German troops, "which was duly executed; a detachment "of the Bedford Militia was also sent in "waggons. From this it will appear that "the Germans were called in by the civil "authority of the town, and were relieved "by our own troops as soon as was prac-"ticable."

"Well," say you, screwing up your sour phizes, "and *what of that?*" Why, I want you to join me in asserting, that this *Morning Chronicle* is as great a hypocrite as any of you. That is one thing; and, then, another is, that I had a mind to treat you to a bit of news, and that I did not think of any other for you just at this time. While I have pen in hand, pray let me ask you, whether you now get your *dues* that the Democrats endeavoured to deprive you of? whether you receive them in the way of *composition*, or take them up in *kind?* No, no: you cunning old foxes, I will not say a word *about the news itself.* I leave comments to you, and shall be glad to hear what you have to say about it.

WM. COBBETT.

"WAR IN DISGUISE;"

OR,

AN APOLOGY FOR HIS MAJESTY'S NAVY.

One Stephen, a Lawyer, and once a Reporter,
Of War and of Taxes a gallant supporter,
In some way or other to WILBERFORCE kin,
And a Member, like him, for a Borough brought in,
Who a Master in Chancery since has been made,
Wrote a Pamphlet to shew, that *Jonathan's* TRADE,
Which was then carried on, on all parts of the sea,
In Bread, Meat and Clothing, and Sugar and Tea,
Was a "WAR IN DISGUISE;" which, though strange, at first sight,
Events have since prov'd may have been but too right:
For, when CARDEN the ship of the Yankee De catur
Attack'd, without doubting to take her, or beat her,
A FRIGATE she seemed to his glass and his eyes;
But, when *taken himself*, how great his surprise,
To find her "A SEVENTY-FOUR IN DISGUISE!"

If *Jonathan*, thus, has the art of disguising,
That he captures our ships is by no means surprising;
And it can't be disgraceful to strike to an Elf,
Who is more than a match for the Devil himself.

* PUSS.

* Puss may rest assured, that her injunctions shall be strictly obeyed, and that her hand writing shall never be sent to the Printing Office.

AMERICA.

MR. COBBETT,—Now that the *original* grounds of the war with America have ceased to exist, the supporters of corruption are using the most strenuous exertions to bolster the unprincipled claim that has been set up for a cession of territory in favour of this country. Wishing to divert the public attention from the well established fact, that the Americans were compelled to draw the sword to defend themselves against our reiterated aggressions, the enemies of freedom, finding that the Treaty of Paris, which restored peace to Europe, naturally gave the death blow to their former pretexts for war, have, ever since that event, endeavoured, and are now, with uncommon industry, endeavouring to persuade the deluded natives of Great Britain, that the American Government have all along been the adherents of Bonaparte, and became hostile to this country only because they wished us to become a province of his extensive empire. Assuming this to be the fact, the same sort of abusive terms that our newspapers applied to Napoleon are now used as to Mr. Madison, and nothing will satisfy the haters of the former but to see the latter, like him, deposed, and the American territory violated and dismembered, as has, in some measure, been the case with France. Considering the total disregard of principle and decency which characterises all *our* public journals, it cannot excite surprise that they should endeavour, by some such means as these, to justify a war which they find to be so profitable; but, I confess, it seems rather extraordinary that there should be found in the United States, where the true causes of the war, and the long forbearance of the Government are so well known, a single individual who could adopt the outrageous sentiments that are disseminated amongst us. Yet such men there are——men, too, who have acquired the rank of legislators, and who, therefore, cannot be supposed ignorant of the real merits of the dispute between the two countries. In a recent debate, in the House of Representatives, in the Committee of Ways and Means, Mr. Sirus King made a long speech against the measures of Government, in which he is made to say, that there were some people in America, and many in Europe, who believed the war to be "of "French origin."—"I have no hints (continues this *honourable* gentleman) to "give on this, or any other subject, but "assert, as I believe, and I believe it as I "do my existence, that this is a French "war; and I have no doubt that a majo- "rity of this nation, and all Europe, think "the same, and act upon that belief. I "very well know, Sir, that this Govern- "ment have lately pleaded not guilty to "this charge, on the ground, no doubt, "that *direct evidence of their guilt cannot* "*be produced.* So, Sir, in our courts of "justice, we every day hear the most noto- "rious offenders plead the general issue "of not guilty—and even be acquitted "by their country, because there was not "sufficient evidence of their guilt; though "every honest man in the nation be- "lieves them guilty. I was induced to "advert to this French origin of the

"war, for the purpose of distinctly stating to the American people, that the "allies of Europe, the great and good "Alexander the Deliverer, among the rest, "all so consider it; nay, more, Sir, they "believe your administration only a branch "of the power of the late imperial, now "fallen, tyrant: which power they are determined to destroy root and branch."

Now, Sir, I shall not occupy your valuable columns with attempting to shew, what must be apparent to every man, that it is incumbent upon this Mr. King, and all who think as he does, to bring forward the *proofs* upon which they rest the charge against Mr. Madison. It might be sufficient to rest the point upon his own admission, that "direct evidence of their "guilt *cannot* be produced," and to plead the well known maxim, that a party accused must be held innocent until guilt is established. But the groundless nature of the accusation is not merely apparent from the total absence of proof on the part of the accusers. There is incontrovertible evidence of the fact, which even the most consummate adept in sophistry will find it difficult to impugn.

In the instructions given by Mr. Madison to Mr. Pinkney, and to General Armstrong, in the year 1808, there was no distinction made between our aggressions and those of Napoleon. The Decrees of both were termed *unjust*, and hostilities threatened against both, if a relaxation did not speedily take place. On the 22d of July the President wrote *to* Gen. Armstrong—"If *France* does not wish to throw the "United States into the *war against her*, "for which it is impossible to find a ra- "tional or plausible inducement, she ought "not to hesitate a moment in revoking at "least so much of her Decrees as violate "the rights of the sea, and furnish to her "adversary the pretext for his retaliating "measures."—To this may be added what Mr. Erskine wrote to Mr. Canning on 25th March, 1809:—"I continue (said "Mr. E.) to be firmly persuaded that Mr. "Madison would *most willingly* seize the "first opportunity of recommending to the "new Congress *to assert the neutral rights* "*against France*, should his Majesty deem "it to be just or expedient to cause his "Orders in Council to be withdrawn, *as* "*he has frequently in conversation said to* "*me, that no hesitation would be felt in* "*this country* (America) *of entering upon* "*hostilities with France*, if she did not "repeal her Decrees!"

Perhaps it will be thought that the evidence arising from the above official documents, requires neither comment nor illustration—I am exactly of that opinion; but I cannot permit myself to close this letter without citing the following short article, upon the same subject, from the *National Intelligencer* of the 4th August, 1812, which it is well known speaks the sentiments of the American Government:—"We state, with pleasure, a fact, which "we know to be true, that our Government "*will not*, under any circumstances that "may occur, form a political connection "with France. To the injuries received "from her, a just sensibility has always "been felt. The war with England has "not abated it, nor has it diminished "the zeal or weakened the effort to obtain "redress. The idea of a political con- "nection with France, as an expedient to "extort justice from England, *is treated* "*with disdain by every person connected* "*with the Government.* It is not desir- "able to enter the lists with the two great "belligerents at once; but if England acts "with wisdom, and France perseveres in "her career of injustice and folly, *we* "*should not be surprised to see the attitude* "*of the United States change towards* "*those Powers. We are now at war* "*with England. Let her Government* "*do us justice; let the other continue to* "*refuse it; and from that moment we* "*have no doubt that the United States will* "*assume a correspondent relation with* "*both.*" Yours, &c.

PACIFICATOR.

LIBERTY OF THE PRESS AND FREE ENQUIRY.

MR. COBBETT,—In my last I ventured to make some remarks on the policy of State Prosecutions, for matters of opinion, and also on the Bible Societies. I now propose to shew the state into which the Republic of Letters is thrown respecting the Bible itself. In doing this I am well aware of the censure that will be cast upon me; but feeling satisfied that much good arises from discussions of this nature, I take pleasure in exposing the clamours of those whose interest it is to take advantage of the ignorance and credulity of my fellow-creatures. Whatever subject will not stand the test of the minutest investiga-

tion must be bad; and those who *prescribe* such enquiries have their own interest and selfishness more at heart than the subject itself, or the good of mankind. We live in an age, in which we daily hear and see many efforts to promote learning. Far be it from me to discourage those who really have in view the benefits that may arise from such laudable pursuits. But learning, without the ability and disposition to detect and expose error, appears to me useless. If, as I am fearful is often the case, we engage in any study to *overawe* and *bewilder* the multitude, it is highly criminal.

In the year 1811, Sir W. Drummond wrote a book, entitled ŒDIPUS JUDAICUS, and had printed about 250 copies for private circulation among his friends. He throws some ridicule upon the *literal* interpretation of the Scriptures, and sneers at the bigots of the present times. He says, that by the *allegorical* interpretation, the Scriptures are exalted, as containing a fund of science as well as being of divine origin; and, holding that opinion, he laughs at the literal interpretation, because it must happen that to him who believed the one mode of interpretation to be true, the other must appear not only false but ridiculous. The rest of the work is occupied in discussing the nature and objects of the allegories introduced by the sacred writers for the wisest purposes. The work is written with great labour, and displays a fund of prodigious erudition. It has been attacked by the Rev. G. D'Oyly, B. D. Christian Advocate in the University of Cambridge, and Chaplain to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, who says it is the production of a *crazy dream*, and treats the author as an *infidel*, a *blasphemer*, a *lunatic*. Three anonymous writers have started up in its favour, who shew, by sound argument and much learning, the utility of the work, and the ignorance and malice of the accuser.—*Vindex* tells the Reverend Advocate, that a person who does not exercise the reason which God has given him in the guidance of his faith, will be a Pagan, a Mahometan, a Christian, a Lutheran, or a Calvanist, as chance may direct, or as example may determine. One party hold that the book of Joshua is not a true history, but a collection of traditions. The second party devote the first to the infernal abodes, and maintain that the book in question is a true and authentic history, and that every churchman is bound to consider it as such. The third, and smallest party, deny that a Christian is bound to receive the book as an authentic history; admit that some of the narrative is absurd and incredible if literally understood, but assert it to be chiefly allegorical, and should not be interpreted according to the letter. Vindex says, "you contrived (you best know how) to get possession of a copy of the ŒDIPUS JUDAICUS, and your selfish policy soon pointed out to you the advantages which you might obtain for your own private views as a priest, by raising the howl of bigotry against a man who possessed some share of reputation in the literary world. You accuse the author of *libelling* the clergy, and teaching the same doctrines as Dupuis and Volney, who deny that Jesus Christ ever existed. Your object was to destroy the character of Sir W. Drummond, as a man who possessed no principle either of religion or of common honesty; and in so doing to obtain credit to yourself in bringing so heinous an individual before the bar of the public. But happily for him and some others, the power in you is not waiting the will to do mischief. I, therefore, deem it expedient to rebuke the spirit of malice which lies lurking under the hypocritical cant of the Christian Advocate. For philosophy, you and many others seem to have an *innate abhorrence;* and, therefore, no man who knows you will expect you to discourse with him upon general principles of reason. Your views are all partial and limited. You see the little world about you, and you are satisfied with your own knowledge. You sway the opinions of the vulgar, and *proscription* awaits the rash man who dares to call philosophy his counsellor, and reason his guide. With respect to the sciences, no bigot ever really loved them. To *school learning* you render due homage. *It keeps the mind off from speculation*, which you fear and abhor. I see in your writings abundant evidence of an overbearing dogmatism, and priestly pride, but little of the candour which might influence, or the justice which ought to guide, the pen of a Christian Advocate. You would be a persecutor like *Gardner*, if you possessed his power; and a high priest, like *Laud*, if you could obtain his dignity. You have all the intemperance of *Warburton* without his genius, and all the intolerance of *Horsley* without his learning."

Biblicus tells the Archbishop's Chaplain,

that his book does him no credit either as a gentleman, a scholar, or a christian; that if he had either grace in his heart, or the manners of a gentleman, "shame would "burn his cheeks to a cinder" for his unparalleled assurance; for while he accuses his adversary of *heretical* opinion, he is guilty of the same crime himself. Thus, in the character of a supporter, he denies the prophecies, and is sapping the foundation of the Christian religion. *Candidus*, who appears still to prefer the old version, and writes the most like a mild, moral man, thus observes:—"I abhor persecution in all its shapes. The Romish Inquisition tortures its victims. Is it less than torture to an enlightened man, who has acquired a reputation for learning and talents, to hear himself charged with gross stupidity and ignorance, while such a clamour is raised against him that he cannot be heard in his own defence? Is it no torture to be driven from the Republic of Letters by an accuser, who is scarcely ever in the right through the long catalogue of his specific charges? Our holy religion wants no such auxiliary as persecution; and it is persecution, cruel persecution, unjustly to take away the *moral* and literary reputation even of an infidel. But the author of the ŒDIPUS JUDAICUS is no infidel; and if he were, I should be slow to accuse a man of being an infidel because his method of understanding the books of Moses and Joshua were not mine. Archbishop Tillotson, and other excellent divines, have ridiculed the interpretation the Roman Catholics have given of some most important texts in the New Testament, which the Romanists have chosen to understand according to the *letter*. These Romanists accuse the Protestants of *blasphemy*; but we reply that, in ridiculing their interpretation of the Scriptures, we respect the word of God as well as they do."

I find that two Gentlemen, I believe both members of the Church of England, a Dr. Maltby, and a Mr. Cunningham, have also been busily engaged upon this subject. The Doctor contends, that the use of an established Church consists in expounding those passages of the Bible which require the aid of human learning and good sense to understand. Now his opponent says, there can be no use for any Church at all, because if the aid of the Spirit is vouchsafed to all those who sincerely ask it, the Bible may be spiritually understood; therefore a cobler may be as good a teacher as a Doctor of Divinity. The Doctor has shewn us, that an establishment is requisite to make Christianity seem a rational system of belief; and Mr. Cunningham has shewn us there is no such necessity, inasmuch as Christianity cannot be comprehended merely by human reason, but requires the aid of inspiration. The Doctor seems to place the whole merit of Christianity in its *moral* precepts, and uses the name of God very sparingly. Mr. Cunningham says, that moral precepts are *nothing* without doctrines, and talks of God as familiarly as if he were his next door neighbour. The Rev. Richard Warner, in one of his sermons, observes, "Whatever wild enthusiasts, on the one hand, or wordly Divines on the other, may assert, conceit, or write to the contrary, this I must continue to think, as long as my faculty of *ratiocination* remains unclouded, that Christianity, according to the spirit and letter of the Gospel, is a system neither veiled in mystery, nor involved in difficulty, as the former would lead mankind to imagine; nor is it essentially and exclusively associated with any particular form of liturgy, system of establishment, or modification of government, as the latter would suggest Its real doctrines display, in language level to the lowest intellect, mercy to the contrite, aid to the humble, and eternal happiness to all good Christians, whether they be of Paul, or Apollos, of Luther, Calvin, or Arminius, of the Romish pale, or the Reformed Church, followers of Presbyterianism, or advocates of Episcopacy. To place these simple, but interesting, doctrines in an affecting and impressive point of view, and to urge upon mankind the steady observance of them, is, if I do not greatly err, genuine evangelical preaching: and the teacher who leads his hearers into the mazes of *mystery*, bewildering them with *irresistible grace*, *imputed righteousness*, *positive predestination*, *particular redemption*, *the perseverance of the saints*, or such like incomprehensible jargon, and the divine who deludes them by accommodating his discourses to the popular errors, the reigning prejudices, or the fashionable habits of thinking, which characterise these times, the spirit of party, or the suggestions of secular interest, ap-

pear to be alike unworthy of the office they assume, and traitors to the cause they profess."

I shall leave your readers to form their own opinions, on the different points of controversy here introduced. But I cannot help observing, that though the promulgation of these opinions may be considered by many as the proof of too much liberty of the press being now allowed, and that by the generality of your admirers it may appear to them quite enough, it seems to me no proof at all upon the subject. It is too often the case, that it is the man who falls the victim, instead of his measures or opinions, and it always will be so while we have a corrupt press, *shackled* without a previous censorship. A free press can do harm only to those who wish to live like drones, by any means that craft and villainy can devise, on the industry of others. It ought always to be borne in mind, that in America they have a press really free, a population of 7,000,000 of human beings, generous, brave, and free, without either a superstitious, or a despotic establishment. If ever there was a cause worthy of martyrdom, and a victim could do good to so noble a cause, in that cause, and no other, might my countrymen demand the life of VARRO.

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

SIR,—In the letter which lately appeared in your REGISTER, on the severity that has been frequently exercised by the Proctors of the University of Oxford on certain unfortunate females, it is stated that, in the city-prison to which they are generally committed, "in damp weather, "the cells in which they sleep literally "run down with water; that there is no "glass in the windows, and only a sliding "board to exclude the wind and rain."—To the truth of this statement, any person seeing them at the present season can fully testify; to which might have been added, that were the sliding board well adapted for the purpose of excluding the wind and rain, which is by no means the case, it must necessarily at the same time exclude the light.—The writer of this letter, together with some friends, lately saw almost every part of this prison.—Amongst the female prisoners, there were two ill of the venereal disease, who, during the whole time of their confinement (and it had then been for many days), slept in these wretched cells. The city magistrates, who have the immediate superintendance of the prison, were informed of this circumstance; and, as it appeared to the writer, that no time was to be lost in obtaining some relief to these prisoners, he addressed the following letter to the Rev. Dr. Lee, the Vice-Chancellor:—

"This letter is most respectfully addressed to the Vice-Chancellor by one who entertains hopes that it will be received with his usual condescension, and not be hastily thrown aside or disregarded. The Vice-Chancellor is acquainted with the structure, as well as the management of the city-prison, to which he has the power of commitment. He must know the damp state of the walls of that prison, arising from the nature of the stone with which it is built; and that there are merely sliding-boards, and no glass, to the windows of the cells in which the prisoners sleep; a severity which, as it was never in the contemplation of the law, will, it is hoped, be speedily obviated; for, under these circumstances, imprisonment, in the winter, is a punishment of the severest kind, and most destructive to the health and constitution of those who are not very robust, and more particularly of females. The Vice-Chancellor, however, may possibly not be aware (as he may never have been informed of the fact) that two of the females, whom he committed a short time ago, were ill of the venereal disease, and that since their commitment, they have been under a course of medicine for that disease, administered by the apothecary of the establishment; and that these females have always been obliged to sleep in the common cells, though they might have been accommodated with a warmer apartment in the prison. The Vice-Chancellor is humbly requested to make some inquiry into the circumstances of this case; and always to ask those women who are likely to be ill of this disease when brought before him, whether they are so or not; and to issue his orders, or adopt some method, by which women so diseased, may not be obliged to pass the long winter nights in the above-mentioned cold and damp cells, then taking a medicine that requires particular care and attention.—The writer of this appeals to the humanity of the Vice-Chancellor, most sincerely hopes that it will not have been made in vain!"

Oxford, Dec. 5, 1814.

The writer of the above letter to the Vice-Chancellor has reason to think that

it was favourably received. The Vice-Chancellor's interference, however, in the present case was quite unnecessary, as it was anticipated by the kindness and liberality of the Mayor and City Magistrates, to whom application had been previously made on the subject. The sick-rooms (which have not been used for a long time) are to be immediately repaired, and furnished with beds for the accommodation of those prisoners who are ill; and the writer is convinced, that the humanity of the Magistrates will induce them to order that the windows in the cells be glazed, which, by being made to open, will sufficiently ventilate the prison; and if wire-lattices be placed on the outside, there will be no danger of the glass being broken. This will be an example worthy to be followed by all who have the management of prisons; for confinement, labour, and spare diet are surely all that the law requires; and these are sufficiently distressing without the addition of cough and rheumatism. It is cruel, unjustifiable, and presumptuous in man to convert the inclemency of the seasons into the means of punishment. It must be observed too, that the prison is used, not merely as a house of correction, but as the place of confinement of those who are committed for trial at the City Quarter Sessions, and who, till convicted, are legally to be considered as innocent. To these prisoners every moderate and reasonable indulgence, consistent with the security of their persons, should be granted. Every magistrate, who has the power of committing persons, should occasionally visit the prison to which they are committed. By making proper inquiries concerning the health and management of the prisoners, and taking care that they have good medical assistance, many unnecessary hardships might be prevented, and much misery alleviated.

Oxford, Dec. 12, 1814.

IMPORTANT AMERICAN DOCUMENTS.

House of Representatives,

Washington, Oct. 27.

Mr. Troup, of Georgia, from the Military Committee, reported a bill, making further provision for filling the ranks of the regular army, by classifying the free male population of the United States.

Mr. Troup also reported a bill "to authorise the President of the United States to accept the services of volunteers, who may associate and organize themselves, and offer their services to the Government of the United States."

Mr. Troup also reported a bill "to provide for the further defence of the frontiers of the United States, by authorising the President to augment the present military establishment."

[This bill proposes to provide, "that, in addition to the present military establishment of the United States, there be immediately raised forty regiments, in such proportions of infantry, artillery, riflemen, and cavalry, as the President of the United States may deem proper, to be enlisted to serve during the war, unless sooner discharged, and limited as to service to the defence of the frontiers of the United States, &c. &c."]

The three bills were severally twice read, and referred to a Committee of the whole.

Mr. Troup also laid before the House the following letter from the Secretary at War to the Military Committee:—

Department of War, Oct. 17.

Sir,—The great importance of the subject, and the other duties of the Department which could not fail to be very sensibly felt, at so interesting a period, by a person who had just taken charge of it, are my apology for not answering your letter of the 24th of September, at an earlier day, on the defects of the present military establishment.—Due consideration has been bestowed on the subject matter of that letter, and I have now the honour to submit to the Committee the following Report:—1. That the present military establishment, amounting to 62,448 men, be preserved and made complete, and that the most efficient means authorised by the Constitution, and consistent with the general rights of our fellow-citizens be adopted, to fill the ranks, and with the least possible delay.—2. That a permanent force, consisting of at least 40,000 men, in addition to the present military establishment, be raised for the defence of our cities and frontiers, under an engagement by the executive with such corps that it shall be employed in that service within certain specified limits, and that a proportionate augmentation of General Officers of each grade and other staff be provided for.—3. That the corps of Engineers be enlarged.—4. That the ordnance department be amended. Respecting the Enlargement of the Corps of Engineers, I shall submit hereafter a more detailed communication. For the proposed Amendment of the Ordnance, I submit a Report of the Senior Officer of that Department, in this City, which is approved. I shall be ready and happy to communicate such further remarks

and details on these subjects as the Committee may desire, and shall request permission to suggest the result of further attention to, and reflection on, our Military Establishment generally, should any thing occur which may be deemed worthy its attention. I have the honour to be, &c. JAMES MONROE.

Hon. G. M. Troup, Chairman, Military Committee, House of Representatives.

Explanatory Observations, accompanying the Letter from the Secretary of War to the Chairman of the Military Committee of the House of the Representatives.

In providing a force necessary to bring this war to a happy termination, the nature of the crisis in which we are involved, and the extent of its dangers, claim particular attention. If the means are not fully adequate to the end, discomfiture must inevitably ensue. It is confidently presumed, that it is the intention of the British Government, by striking at the principal sources of our prosperity to diminish the importance, if not to destroy the political existence, of the United States. If any doubt remained on this subject, it has been completely removed by the dispatches from our Ministers at Ghent, which were lately laid before Congress. A nation contending for its existence against an enemy powerful by land and sea, favoured in a peculiar manner by extraordinary events, must make great exertions, and suffer great sacrifices.—Forced to contend again for our liberties and independence, we are called on for a display of all the patriotism, which distinguished our fellow-citizens in the first great struggle. It may be fairly concluded, that *if the United States sacrifice any right*, or make any dishonourable concession to the demands of the British Government, the spirit of the nation will be broken, and the foundations of their union and independence shaken. *The United States must relinquish no right, or perish in the struggle. There is no intermediate ground to rest on. A concession on one point, leads directly to the surrender of every other.* The result of the contest cannot be doubtful. The highest confidence is entertained that the stronger the pressure, and the greater the danger, the more firm and vigorous will be the resistance, and the more successful and glorious the result. It is the avowed purpose of the enemy to lay waste and destroy our cities and villages, and to desolate our coast, of which examples have already been afforded. It is evidently his intention to press the war along the whole extent of our seaboard, in the hope of exhausting equally the spirits of the people, and the national resources. There is also reason to presume, that it is his intention to press the war from Canada, on the adjoining States, while attempts are made on the City of New York, and other important points, with a view to the vain project of dismemberment or subjugation. It may be inferred likewise to be a part of the scheme to continue to invade this part of the Union, while a separate force attacks the State of Louisiana, in the hope of taking possession of the City of New Orleans, and of the mouth of the Mississippi, that great inlet and key to the commerce of all that portion of the United States lying westward of the Alleghany mountains.—The peace in Europe, having given to the enemy a large disposable force, has essentially favoured these objects. The advantage which a great naval superiority gives to the enemy, by enabling him to move troops from one quarter to another, from Maine to the Mississippi, a coast of 2000 miles extent, is very considerable. Even a small force, moved in this manner for the purposes avowed by the British commanders, cannot fail to be sensibly felt, more especially by those who are exposed to it. It is obvious, if the militia are to be relied on principally for the defence of our cities and coasts against their predatory and desolating incursions, wherever they may be made, that, by interfering with their ordinary pursuits of industry, it must be attended with serious interruption and loss to them, and injury to the public, while it increases the expence.—It is an object of the highest importance, to provide a regular force, with the means of transporting it from one quarter to another along our coast, thereby following the movements of the enemy with the greatest possible rapidity, and repelling the attack wherever it may be made. These remarks are equally true as to the militia service generally under the present organization of the militia, and the short term of service prescribed by law. It may be stated with confidence, that at least three times the force in militia has been employed at our principal cities along the coast, and on the frontier in marching to and returning thence, that would have been necessary in regular troops; and that the expence attending it has been more than proportionably augmented, from the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of preserving the same degree of system in the militia as in the regular service. But it will not be able to repel these predatory and desolating incursions. To bring the war to an honourable termination, we must not be content with defending ourselves. Different feelings must be touched and apprehensions excited in the British Government. By pushing the war into Canada, we secure the friendship of the Indian tribes, and command their ser-

vices, otherwise to be turned by the enemy against us: we relieve the coast from the desolation which is intended for it, and we keep in our hands a safe pledge for an honourable peace.—It follows, from this view of the subject, that it will be necessary to bring into the field next campaign, not less than 100,000 regular troops. Such a force, aided in extraordinary emergencies by volunteers and militia, will place us above all inquietude as to the final result of this contest. It will fix, on a solid and imperishable foundation, our union and independence; on which the liberties and happiness of our fellow-citizens so essentially depend. It will secure to the United States an early and advantageous peace. It will arrest, in the further prosecution of the war, the desolation of our cities and our coast, by enabling us to retort on the enemy those calamities which our citizens have been already doomed to suffer; a retort which self-defence alone, and a sacred regard for the rights and honour of the nation, could induce the United States to adopt.—The return of the regular force now in service laid before you, will shew how many men will be necessary to fill the present corps; and the return of the numerical force of the present military establishment, will shew how many are required to complete it to the number proposed. The next and most important enquiry is, how shall these men be raised? Under existing circumstances, it is evident that the most prompt and efficient mode that can be devised, consistent with the equal right of every citizen, ought to be adopted. The following plans are respectfully submitted to the consideration of the Committee. Being distinct in their nature, I will present each separately with the considerations applicable to it. [Here follow four plans.]—It is not intended by these remarks, should the first plan be adopted, to dispense altogether with the service of the militia. Although the principal burthen of the war may thereby be taken from the militia, reliance must be placed on them for important aids, especially in cases of sudden invasion. For this purpose it will still be advisable that the men be classed according to age, and their term of service be prolonged. Even should this plan be attended with all the advantages expected of it, such an arrangement could not fail to produce the happiest effect.—The proof which it would afford of the impregnable strength of the country, of the patient virtue, and invincible spirit of the people, would admonish the enemy, how vain and fruitless his invasions must be, and might dispose him to a speedy, just, and honourable peace. Of the very important services already rendered by the militia, even under the present organization, too much cannot be said.—If the United States make the exertion which is proposed, it is probable that the contest will soon be at an end. *It cannot be doubted that it is in their power to expel the British forces from this Continent*, should the British Government, by persevering in its unjust demands, make that an object with the American people. Against our united and vigorous efforts, the resistance of the enemy will soon become light and feeble. Success, in every fair and honourable claim, is within our easy grasp. And surely the United States have every possible inducement to make the effort necessary to secure it. I should insult the understanding and wound the feelings of the Committee, if I touched on the calamities incident to defeat.—Dangers which are remote and can never be realized, excite no alarm with a gallant and generous people. But the advantages of success have a fair claim to their deliberate consideration. The effort we have already made has attracted the attention and extorted the praise of other nations. Already have most of the absurd theories and idle speculations on our system of Government been refuted and put down. We are now felt and respected as a power, and it is the dread which the enemy entertains of our resources and growing importance, that has induced him to press the war against us after its professed objects had ceased. Success by discomfiture of his schemes, and the attainment of an honourable peace, will place the United States on higher ground, in the opinion of the world, than they have held at any former period. In future wars, their commerce will be permitted to take its lawful range unmolested. Their remonstrances to foreign Governments will not again be put aside, unheeded—Few will be presented, because there will seldom be occasion for them.—Our Union, founded on internal affection, will have acquired new strength by the proof it will have afforded of the important advantages attending it. Respected abroad, and happy at home, the United States will have accomplished the great objects for which they have so long contended. As a nation that will have little to dread, as a people little to desire.

(From the National Intelligencer.)

THE FOURTEENTH CONGRESS.

Much exultation has been displayed in the Federal prints on the occasion of the acquisition of Federalism in the recent Congressional Elections in Maryland and Pennsylvania. Without at present examining the causes of the ascendancy of Federalism in Maryland, and proving that it must be temporary,—without deploring the mis-

guided zeal on the one side or the other, of the two sections of the Republican party in Pennsylvania, which has enabled the Federalists to elect members in two or three districts in which they are the minority—we proceed to shew to our readers, not only that the Federalists cannot have a majority in the next Congress, but to shew that their numbers will not be greater in that than in the present. The election in New Hampshire has just terminated, and resulted in the re election, by a small majority, of six Federal Representatives to Congress. In Massachusetts, the election takes place this fall, and will give at least the present proportion of Republican members, if not an increased number. In Vermont, though the Congressional Election has taken place, the votes are not yet known to have been counted out; but as there is reason to fear it may eventuate in the choice of Federalists, we shall so estimate it. Rhode Island, always eccentric, has re-elected two Federal Representatives. That Connecticut will re-elect seven Federal Representatives, there can be no doubt. The powerful State of New York has given her zealous support to the present Administration, and to the war, by choosing twenty Republican and seven Federal members, of the last of whom, it is said, the seats of two will be vacated in favour of their Republican opponents. New Jersey has just, almost unexpectedly to us, chosen six decidedly Republican Representatives. From Pennsylvania all the returns have not yet come to hand; but it is believed that six out of her twenty-three Representatives will be Federal. Delaware has chosen, as usual, Federal Representatives. In Maryland, the Federalists have obtained five, the Republicans four members. In Virginia, the election does not take place until April next. We may reckon on her delegation as it now stands, 17 and 6, tho' it will probably not result so favourably to Federalism. The North Carolina election does not take place until next August. Her delegation will probably stand as at present, ten to three; but, making allowance for possible changes, we will set it down at eight to five. In South Carolina the election has taken place so recently, that we have the returns only from one (the most Federal) district, in which the Republican candidate is chosen. There is no doubt, therefore, that the whole Representation of that State will be democratic.—In Georgia it is ascertained that six Republicans are just chosen, to represent that State in the next Congress.—In Tenessee the elections do not take place until the Spring. There is no doubt, however, that Republicans will be chosen from every district.—Kentucky has already, as usual, chosen a delegation of unmixed Democratic character. The election in Ohio has just ended, and there is little doubt but six Republicans are again chosen for that State Louisiania has elected her present Republican Representative. It will be seen, then, that though partial changes favourable to Federalism may have taken place in Vermont, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, they are much more than counterbalanced by changes the other way in New York and New Jersey, besides what may be expected even from Massachusetts.—The result of our estimate will appear in the following recapitulation:—

ELECTIONS ALREADY DECIDED.—New Hampshire, 6 Federalists; Rhode Island, 2 Federalists; New York, 20 Republicans, 7 Federalists; New Jersey, 6 Republicans; Pennsylvania, 17 Republicans, 6 Federalists; Delaware, 2 Federalists; Maryland, 4 Republicans, 5 Federalists; South Carolina 9, Georgia 6, Kentucky 10, Ohio 6, and Louisiana 1, Republicans.

ESTIMATE OF PENDING ELECTIONS.—Massachussets, 4 Republicans, 16 Federalists; Connecticut 7, Vermont 6, Federalists: Virginia, 17 Republicans, 6 Federalists; North Carolina, 8 Republicans, 5 Federalists; and Tenessee, 6 Republicans.

Elections decided—79 Republicans, 28 Federalists.

Elections estimated—35 Republicans, 40 Federalists.

Total - 114 Republicans, 68 Federalists.

This sort of estimate of party power is rather an invidious task, particularly at this moment, when we had rather see the two great parties striving which shall most zealously serve and promote the common good, than counting noses to ascertain which is the strongest; but as our opponents are already singing hallelujahs for their vast acquisition of strength, it would be wrong not to expose their unfortunate mistake. We have, therefore, made a simple statement of facts, which cannot but operate as a sedative to their premature transports. We need not add, after the above estimate, that in the Senate of the United States there must be, for two or three years at least, a decided Republican majority.

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